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A SHORT
ADDRESS,
TO THE MEMBERS
OF
THE LOYAL ASSOCIATIONS,
ON THE
PRESENT STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS:

CONTAINING
A BRIEF EXPOSITION OF THE DESIGNS OF THE FRENCH UPON THIS
COUNTRY, AND OF THEIR PROPOSED DIVISION OF GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND INTO THREE DISTINCT
AND INDEPENDENT REPUBLICS ;

WITH
A LIST OF THE DIRECTORIES AND MINISTERS
OF THE SAME,
AS PREPARED BY THE DIRECTORY AT PARIS,

TENTH EDITION.

BY JOHN GIFFORD, *Esq.*

AUTHOR OF A LETTER TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE,
A LETTER TO THE HON. THOMAS ERSKINE,
A SECOND LETTER TO THE SAME, &c. &c.

Rome hait tous les Rois; elle les croit tyranniques;
Ah! les plus grands Tyrans---ce sont des Republiques.
VOLTAIRE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. N. LONGMAN, PATER-NOSTER ROW,

1798.

[Price One Shilling.]

A SHORT
ADDRESS

TO THE MEMBERS

OF THE
THE ROYAL ASSOCIATIONS

ON THE
PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

A BRIEF EXPOSITION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE THEORY UPON THIS
COUNTRY, AND OF THE PRACTICAL DIVISION OF GREAT
MATTERS AND ISSUES INTO THREE DIVISIONS
AND INDEPENDENT RESOURCES

A FIRST OF THE PRINCIPLES AND MINISTERS
SAME



TENTH EDITION

BY JOHN GIFFORD, ESQ.

ATTORNEY OF A LETTER TO THE EARL OF LANSDALE

A LETTER TO THE HON. THOMAS ERSKINE

A SECOND LETTER TO THE SAME

CONTAINING
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1798.

[The Association]

AN ADDRESS,

&c.

GENTLEMEN,

At this important Crisis, I feel it to be my duty to recall to your minds the circumstances which occasioned those apprehensions that impelled you to associate, in defence of all that Englishmen—of the *Old School*—hold dear, towards the close of the year 1792. At that memorable period, the new doctrines which had sprung up in France, had been industriously circulated throughout the various States of Europe, with a view to prepare the general destruction of all existing establishments, both civil and religious. The Apostles of Liberty and Equality were busily

B employed

employed in procuring converts; their missionaries were widely dispersed; their Creed was translated by Legislative Authority into all languages; formal Decrees were, soon after, passed in the Convention of France, holding out temptation to rebellion, and offering assistance, to all who would rise up against the lawful Government of their Country in every part of the globe; the minds of men were deranged; the firmest bonds of society were loosened; Vice stood erect in the tottering temple of Religion; Immorality openly displayed her hideous front; and it seemed, in short, as if, the Providence of the Almighty being suspended, "Cheats would not only juggle private men out of their rights, but unhinge States, and run all into confusion."* Such was the *general* aspect of things; an aspect, it must be confessed, well calculated to excite the most serious apprehensions in every real friend of mankind.

Englishmen, of course, could not fail to deplore, in common with the well-disposed inhabitants of every other nation, a state of things that threat-

* Ray on the Creation.

ened nothing less than a total dissolution of the social system. It was not to be expected that they alone, who had ever signalized their virtue and their prowess in opposing an effectual barrier to the inroads of Gallic ambition, which, but for their interference, must have long before shaken, if not destroyed, the balance of power in Europe—that balance which the wisest and most virtuous Statesmen of this country have ever deemed it of the utmost importance to preserve—would be exempted from the general danger. The men who had usurped the reins of Government in France wisely judging from the past conduct of the British Cabinet, at various periods of our history, that they would not be suffered quietly to execute those destructive schemes of aggrandizement, which constituted the ultimate end of their new system of policy, had resolved to atchieve, by every possible means, the destruction of the British Constitution, which they well knew to be the best safeguard of British Independence, and the surest support of British power and prosperity. The most authentic documents exist to prove, that such was their fixed determination, long before the declaration of war; if their plan could be effected without proceeding

to open hostilities, they would rejoice in the facility of their means; but there was no sacrifice which they were not fully prepared to make, in order to insure its success. Accordingly, their emissaries in England had orders to foment that spirit of disaffection, which is assuredly to be found in every country, among a certain description of men,—the turbulent, the profligate, the needy, and the vain. Ambition, when it takes a right direction, makes many an useful subject; when, as it is too commonly the case, it assumes a wrong bias, it forms many a factious demagogue. There happened, at this period, to be more vain and ambitious men in the wrong than in the right path. Hence the Gallic missionaries found their task not so difficult of accomplishment, as they might naturally have imagined:—at least, they found no inconsiderable numbers ready to enlist under their banners, and, to use their own miserable jargon, *à la hauteur de la Revolution*.

These *Choice Spirits*, who were truly worthy of admission into that Pandemonium of which Rober-spierre and Marat were the presiding deities, speedily collected their legions; seditious Societies openly

openly assembled in different parts of the country; harangues of the most inflammatory nature were delivered by their orators, stationary and itinerant; that Constitution and form of Government which had been a just object of applause and self-gratulation to the sober, the wise, and the virtuous part of the community, while they had been admired and envied by such foreigners as had the sense to appreciate, and the candour to acknowledge, their transcendant blessings, were basely reviled, and publicly proclaimed to be radically defective; the advantages of a Government without King or Parliament were displayed in language adapted to the taste of the vulgar, and supported by arguments suited to their capacity; the nonsensical doctrine of the imprescriptible *Rights of Man* was represented as the *ne plus ultra* of political wisdom; and the impracticable system of *French Liberty and Equality*,—a system which has constituted the basis of a tyranny, the most extensive and the most disgusting of any recorded in history,—was stated to be the acme of political perfection.—Deputies were selected from the different societies to carry the congratulations of
 their

their members to the regicidal upstarts at Paris, on the abolition of monarchy, and the consequent violation of their most solemn oaths. The language and spirit of the various addresses and speeches delivered on this occasion were substantially the same; and it is impossible to draw any other inference from the perusal of them, than, that the parties from whom they proceeded, were anxious to witness a similar Revolution in England, and resolved to promote it by all practicable means. The answers given by the President of the Convention demonstrate, beyond the possibility of doubt, that such was the sense in which they were received by that assembly; and, indeed, no other interpretation could they bear.

It was on a deliberate view of these circumstances so truly alarming, that the Constitution was concluded to be exposed to the most imminent danger, to avert which, you resolved to unite your efforts, and to form associations throughout the kingdom. Every species of calumny and party-malice has been exhausted in the base endeavour to cast an odium on these meetings, and to misrepresent their object to the public. The members experienced the
same

same kind of abuse from the disaffected which had been previously lavished on the Constitution itself. —The appellations of Placemen and Pensioners, Spies and Informers, were bestowed on them in all the seditious clubs, in the numerous periodical publications devoted to their service, and even in the Commons House of Parliament, by degenerate senators, who either forwarded their views, or sought to render them the instruments of their own elevation. The associators were said to have established a kind of political inquisition, with a view to diffuse a general spirit of mistrust, and to exercise a rigorous persecution foreign from the mild tenour of British Jurisprudence. But, fortunately, these calumnies were too gross to impose on the public at the time, when your declarations were either immediately before them or fresh in their recollection; and the registers of your proceedings still attest the purity of your intentions, the rectitude of your conduct, and give the lie to the insinuations and assertions of your enemies. These clearly demonstrate, that the object of your associations was not to innovate upon the Constitution, but to prevent inno-

vation from the violent interposition of a misguided populace; not to give new powers to the existing authorities, but merely to secure to them, by legal co-operation, the free exercise of the powers which they already enjoyed; not to infringe upon the laws of the realm, but to restrain that licentious spirit which aimed at the subversion of all laws. In short your object was not to *alter* but to *preserve*; and the memorable declaration of your early ancestors might, with extreme propriety, have been adopted by you as a motto—*NOLUMUS LEGES ANGLIÆ MUTARI.*—To effect this laudable, this truly patriotic purpose, you earnestly, and, thank Heaven! efficaciously, laboured to counteract the unprincipled exertions of the disaffected to corrupt and poison the public mind; the Press, which had been employed to achieve the destruction of the Gallic Monarchy, and which had been used by the Republican and Levelling Party for producing the same end in Great Britain, attracted your attention; and you judiciously converted the Stream of Democracy into a Current of Loyalty. By such conduct, far

from destroying, you virtually secured, the constitutional Liberty of the Press.

It was naturally to be expected, that, in the accomplishment of this plan, you would incur the inveterate enmity of all those whose views your efforts were calculated to counteract; and that, long after these efforts had ceased to operate, that enmity would continue to act with undiminished force. But in the mean time you had the heartfelt satisfaction of perceiving the extensive good which you had effected, and of seeing your services rewarded by the grateful acknowledgments of the only part of the Community whose approbation you could wish to deserve. Having successfully stemmed the Tide of Treason and Rebellion, imparted vigour to the Laws, and stability to the Government, you retired from the public Theatre on which your Loyalty had been exhibited, and returned to your respective situations in society, there to enforce by private example the precepts which you had publicly sought to inculcate. Previous to the suspension of your labours, however, you proclaimed to the world your determination to resume them whenever the circumstances

circumstances of the times should require a renewal of your exertions.

No sooner had your meetings ceased, than your enemies,—who are singularly expert in this species of party-manceuvring,—had again recourse to that kind of invective, which they have, during the present contest, invariably employed to blacken the first and fairest characters in the country. They seem to possess, in an ample degree, that kind of knowledge to which CAMILLE JORDAN alludes, when he observes, “ Who does not know
 “ that there is no lie so gross, but, if advanced
 “ with boldness, and repeated with obstinacy, obtains some credit in the end ?” The same idea is thus expressed in the more refined phraseology of that *illustrious statesman*, Mr. ERSKINE :—
 “ Time has now placed in the shade the arguments by which wisdom triumphed: they are
 “ there only viewed by learning and retirement,
 “ which enables cowardice and folly, by artifices
 “ formerly defeated, the easier to impose upon a
 “ busy or an unthinking world.”—It has been said, that wherever a great deal of dirt is thrown, some part of it must necessarily stick; In the present

sent instance it has recoiled on those who threw it; although it is certain, that the party have left nothing untried to deprive the members of the associations of that popularity which they had acquired in the most honourable manner; not by flattering, like the demagogues of ancient and of modern times, the prejudices and all the bad passions of the people; not by urging them to the assertion of imaginary rights;—but by seeking to impose restraints on their licentiousness, by reminding them that they were subjects as well as men, that they were answerable to laws religious and civil; and by stimulating them to a vigorous and beneficial discharge of their duties. Popularity, obtained by such means, is a badge of distinction which may justly constitute the pride of any body of individuals; and if any part of it had been lost, which happily is not the case, the disgrace would have attached to those who withdrew it, and not to those from whom it had been withdrawn.

One bad consequence, however, resulted from the extraordinary success of your efforts. It taught you to consider an enemy as annihilated, who was only reduced to a compulsory state of inactivity; it

it rendered you blind to the true character of the foe whom you had recently encountered; it induced you to entertain the erroneous, and most dangerous, idea, that he was capable of being reasoned into an abandonment of his principles, or, at least, that, being once completely vanquished, he would never seek to rally, but give up the combat in despair. A supposition of this kind is totally incompatible with the nature of Jacobinism, of which turbulence forms an essential ingredient; it is, therefore, all vigilance, all activity; defeat it in one shape, it springs up in another; its channels are as numerous as they are tortuous; the insidiousness of its wiles is at least equal to the extent of its desperation; and its address, in eluding detection, is only exceeded by the daring profligacy displayed in the pursuit of its object; it will even assume the mask of loyalty, when calculated to retrieve a lost character, or to promote its present interest. Of this truth be persuaded—
 YOU MUST EITHER DESTROY IT, OR IT WILL DESTROY YOU. But, in order to effect its destruction, you must rouse yourselves from that state of supineness, in which you have now remained for the long period of five years. To the activity of
 your

your foe, you must oppose superior activity; to his energy, superior energy; to his vigour, superior vigour; by such means *alone*, can conquest be secured.—You are thus impelled by the paramount principle of self-preservation, as well as by a strong sense of duty to your country, to redeem the pledge given at the time, when your meetings were suspended, by re-assembling whenever it can be proved to you that the situation of public affairs requires your interference. I have no doubt but that the efforts which have been made to defame you were intended to prevent you from re-assembling. But, to use Camille Jordan's expression—"If the liar prove victorious, what additional arguments does his triumph afford!"—It becomes you, then, to defeat his machinations; and I shall now proceed to lay before you, as briefly as may be, those reasons which induce me to think that the time for the redemption of your pledge is arrived.

It has before been observed, that towards the close of the year 1792, the French, by their reception of delegates from seditious clubs in this country, as well as by their Legislative decrees, mat-
tution;

nifested a fixed intention of overturning our constitution, and substituting in its place, an Anarchical Government, formed after the model of COLLOT D'HERBOIS's novel production. *DELEND A EST CARTHAGO*, as applied to England, continued to be the topic of all their public declamations; and, though their threats excited less attention, while their arms were unsuccessful, it is a fact, which admits of easy demonstration, that, from that period to the present time, it has been the unvaried object of every successive party which have holden the reins of Government in France, not only to destroy our trade, commerce, and maritime consequence, but to effect a complete revolution in Great Britain, on French principles. Those men, therefore, argue upon mistaken grounds, who infer, from the present conduct of France, that she has *altered* her plan of proceedings, and, inflated by success, has conceived projects of self-aggrandizement and foreign destruction, which constituted no part of her original designs. I have documents before me, which prove that, so early as the commencement of 1793, the regular and systematic plan for abolishing all existing institutions and governments, and for revolutionizing all the neighbouring countries,

was formed; and the smallest attention to subsequent events will suffice to shew that they have regularly and universally acted upon that plan, wherever their arms or their principles have prevailed. Trace the debates of their different Legislative Bodies, and you will find that scarcely a month has elapsed, during the last five or six years, without some violent denunciation of vengeance against the Constitution and independence of Britons.

If I be not mistaken, the design of destroying the British Monarchy originated with BRISSOT, and was conceived at a period antecedent to the declaration of war. I have also reason to believe that it was immediately imparted to a person in this country, whose sentiments on the subject it is not for me to devine. It was the intention of BRISSOT and his associates to form one united federative Republic of Great Britain and Ireland; —but their plan was altered by the Committee of Public Safety, which, in pursuance of the advice of certain Hibernian Patriots, determined to make Ireland a separate state. The Directory, in their turn, have improved upon the scheme of their predecessors,

deceffors, and have pofitively *decreed*, that England, Scotland, and Ireland, fhall form three diftinct and Independent Republics.

The intimation which I now give of the views, the defigns, and the proceedings of the French Directory, I have derived from a fource which never yet has deceived me; whatever degree of credit, therefore, others may be difpofed to give it, I muft believe it to be authentic; it certainly corresponds with their paff conduct, and with their recent declarations; and is, at leaft, entitled to your moft ferious attention.

As the five Tyrants of France have anticipated the conqueft of thefe countries, it is but natural that, after providing them with a Government fimilar to their own, they fhould, by a difplay of the fame kindnefs which they have evinced towards other fubjugated States, furnifh them with a Directory and a complete fet of Minifters.—A lift of thefe, fuch as I have received it, and I firmly believe it to be a faithful copy, as far as it goes, of the original prepared by the French Government, I here fubjoin.

THE

THE ENGLISH DIRECTORY.

PAINE,

TOOKE,

SHARPE,

THELWALL,

LANSDOWNE—à-la-Serbelloni.*

EASTE, - - - { Minister for the Foreign Department.

WAITHMAN, Minister of Finance.

COOPER, - - - { Minister for the Home Department.

TIERNEY, - - Minister of Justice.

TARLETON, - Minister of War.

HARDY, - - - Minister of Police.

J. B. RUSSEL, } Ministers of the Marine Department
— JAMES, }

COOMBE, - - - First Mayor of the Commonalty.

STANHOPE, - Ambassador to Paris.

* Serbelloni is the name of a Milanese Nobleman, who, imitating the conduct, and unwarned by the example, of some persons

THE IRISH DIRECTORY.

NAPPER TANDY,
ROGER O'CONNOR,
EDWARD FITZGERALD,
HAMILTON ROWAN.

(I omit, *for the present*, the fifth name, from motives which even the rankest Jacobin in the country must respect.)

Two-

persons of the same rank in France, favoured the plan of the French to revolutionize his country; and, as a reward for his services, was appointed Ambassador from the Cisalpine Republic to the French Directory. But when BUONAPARTE began to mould the new Italian constitution à la Française, standing in need of SERBELLONI's assistance, he made him one of the Directory; but not finding him so pliant in that situation, not quite so devoted to the will of the French as he could wish, and having, moreover, derived what assistance he had expected from him, he ordered him to resign his newly-acquired dignity, and to resume his former station at Paris. He found, however, the situation already occupied by a man, who gave such satisfaction to the prevailing faction, that they would not consent to lose him; and *il povero Serbelloni* was, in consequence, sent, in honourable

Two-and-twenty names were proposed as Ministers, but none had been fixed upon. Probably the number of candidates encreased the difficulty of decision.

THE SCOTCH DIRECTORY.

MUIR,

SINCLAIR,

CAMERON,

LAUDERDALE, } *pro tempore—à-la*

SEMPLE, } Serbelloni.

FERGUSON, - { Minister for the Foreign Department.

MACLEOD, -- Minister of War.

CAMPBELL, - { Minister of the Marine Department.

The other Ministers for Scotland were appointed, but their names I have not received.

honourable exile, to *Rastadt*.—His next removal may possibly be to *Cayenne*, which seems to be the general receptacle for patriots in disgrace.—The fate of this man, and the still more deplorable fate of many noblemen in France, who, forgetful at once of their duty and their interest, adopted revolutionary principles, may serve as an useful lesson to men of rank, in other countries.

This list, as I before stated, has been in my possession several weeks; I did not receive it from any person connected with the British Government; but immediately from the continent; and I might possibly not have published it now, but for the kind of defiance lately thrown out by a paper in the pay of Opposition, the conductor of which, having heard of its circulation "in the upper circles," modestly stated it to be "so absurd a fabrication, and of so calumnious a tendency, that the particulars would be too libellous for the press to admit, and too ridiculous for any credulity to endure." The proper comment on this declaration has been already made, but if it be meant to be maintained that the list in question is an English fabrication, I take upon myself to affirm that such an assertion is a direct falsehood.

The wish to create a general disbelief of the authenticity of such a paper can only arise from one of two causes—From a desire to serve the French by inducing the people of England to believe that they have no intention of destroying their liberties and their laws, and thereby to lull them into a false security; or else from an apprehension that the persons,

sons, whose names it has pleased the Directory to inscribe on the list, will be supposed by the public to have been privy to their designs, and consequently to have maintained a traiterous correspondence with the enemy. The first motive to action, base as it is, has been so manifestly displayed by the party writers, during the whole progress of the French Revolution, that any apology for the imputation would probably be considered as an insult by those to whom it would be addressed. But as to the apprehension which I have noticed, they may make themselves perfectly easy on that head, for no such inference can be drawn from a perusal of the lists. In order, however, to prevent all misrepresentations on the subject, I openly disclaim the most distant intention of imputing to the parties concerned, that is to such of them as are resident in this country, the smallest knowledge of the honour intended them by the Gallic Directory. Several of the names are wholly unknown to me; and such of them, as I, in common with the rest of the public, am acquainted with, are, from their known loyalty, from their zealous attachment to the laws and government of their country, from
their

their anxious efforts to repel the threatened invasion of the common enemy, and from their inexhaustible fund of true British patriotism, so far above all suspicions of disaffection, that no view, no project, no wish hostile to the real interests of the British empire can possibly be imputed to them.

My object, in the publication of this curious list, is to shew, in the first place, what false, yet dangerous, impressions the conduct and language of the Opposition in this country, during the war, have enabled the French Directory to make upon the minds of the wretched people over whom they are permitted to rule with a rod of iron ;* and, secondly, to display the real designs of our enemy, in a strong, but true, point of view. To sober-minded Englishmen, who have been accustomed to confi-

* This was the motive which induced me to insert, in my first letter to Mr. Erskine, a translation of some passages from a French play, performed and published under the specific sanction of the Government, in which the author represented the leading members of Opposition, as Jacobins, not merely *in dress*, but in principle, and as employed in the deposition of their Sovereign, and the establishment of a Republic.

der a suitable education, a certain dignity of mind, and appropriate habits of life, as indispensable qualifications in all candidates for important employments in the State, such a list as the above, may, perhaps, appear better calculated to excite ineffable contempt than to merit serious attention. But, from the motley mixture of personages, selected for the composition of the different administrations, no inference, unfavourable to the probability, much less to the authenticity of the lists, can be drawn, when we consider the policy invariably pursued, and the conduct invariably adopted, by the French Revolutionists during the whole progress of their systematic attacks upon the rights and happiness of mankind. It forms an essential part of their system, to destroy all ranks in society, and, in order to establish their levelling principle, it is absolutely necessary, that the Peer and the Cobler, the Priest and the Felon, should be reduced to a perfect equality of station. This is one of the grand means which they employ for the accomplishment of their plans, and I must say, that, in so doing, their policy is as remarkable as their profligacy; they are aware that by the approximation of characters

so perfectly distinct in themselves, and so remote from each other in the scale of society, they accustom the individuals, gradually, to forget what they *were*, and to consider only what they *are*; thus eradicating from the minds of their instruments those sentiments which are most hostile to their views. This conduct is evidently productive of another advantage, by securing to them the firm attachment of the rabble whom they exalt; and who must be sensible that as they are solely indebted to them for their elevation, so must the return of things to their ancient order restore them to the abject situations in which they formerly moved, and whence, from their total want of industry and knowledge, they could never have emerged, but in consequence of the explosion of a revolutionary Volcano. So that, in the strange selection which they have made, of particles apparently heterogeneous, for the composition of the new administrations which they have formed for the Dominions of his Britannic Majesty, it is manifest, that the French Directory have acted in strict conformity with their own principles;—nor less so with their uniform *practice*.

In

In the autumn of last year, the apparent success of their Jacobin emissaries on the Rhine, had so much inflated the minds of those *Republic-mongers*, the Directory, that they were bent on the establishment of a *Cis-Rhenane* Republic; and they even went so far as to fix on five Directors, whose names appeared at the time, in the *Poste de Paris* and the *Gazette de Leide*, published by order of the French Commissary-General at Cologne. It appeared from thence, that this new Directory was meant to be composed of a *ci-devant* nobleman, resident in the district of *Coblentz*, who, like *Barras*, was ruined both in character and credit; a sinner of *Dusseldorf*, who had been three times a bankrupt; an apostate Priest of *Audernach* who had committed the crime of adultery, and married another man's wife; a low attorney of *Bonne*, who had been found guilty of forgery and sentenced to imprisonment for life; and a COBLER of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, who, when the French entered that city, was under confinement, on a suspicion of having poisoned *some* of his wives,—for he had just married his *seventh* !!!—It will not, I conceive, be maintained that the intended Cis-Rhenane Directory was less

extraordinary then, the proposed British and Irish Directories.

Two Members of the Electoral Assemblies at Brussels, chosen last year, by orders of the French Directory, were the Duke *D'Urſel*, a nobleman of high rank, and the Jew NATHAN, an ancient retailer of old clothes. The patriotic Duke is now in disgrace, but his worthy associate has been lately promoted to a seat in the Legislative Council of the *Great nation*.

Among the present Consuls of Rome, all appointed by the French, are the master of a puppet-show, a nobleman, an attorney, and a Cicerone, a species of *laquais de place*.

When the French rewarded the Venetians, for the assistance they had given them during the war, by destroying their Government, they appointed a new administration, of which three of the members, were an Apothecary, a Marquis, and a Chimney-Sweeper.

In short, wherever they have established even a temporary authority, they have made appointments of a similar description; they have associated the lowest of the low with the vilest of the vile.

On the borders of Spain, in Italy, and in Germany, it was their constant rule to compose the administrations of patriotic Noblemen, apostate Priests, profligate Attornies, and the most obscure mechanics and artisans; the latter of whom always acted as spies upon the conduct of the former.

At home, they have pursued the same plan. How, at an early period of the revolution, was the famous Committee of Public Safety composed? Who were the men that Robespierre—who, be it observed, was perfect master of the art of governing French Republicans—selected for his associates?—Two noblemen, one gentleman, a strolling-player, a painter, and an attorney's clerk, who was originally a skinner's* apprentice. No one can have forgotten the appointment of Simeon the cobbler, to the office of preceptor to the lawful Monarch of France; nor that of his wife as governess to the Princess Royal!

There would be nothing more astonishing in

* I mean no allusion to the British Citizen, Mr. SKINNER, the worthy Alderman and Auctioneer.

the promotion of THOMAS HARDY,* the shoemaker, to the post of Minister of a British Republican Police, than there was in the elevation of Citizen LE GENDRE, the butcher of Paris, to a seat in the French Republican Legislature.

Nor will those wonder at the association of this distinguished son of Crispin with a British Marquis; or at that of a convicted felon with a Scottish Earl, who recollect that GODFROY, a farrier of Fontainebleau, who had first a seat in the Convention, and afterwards in the Council of Elders, was, in 1792, president of that very department of which the Cardinal de Brienne, archbishop of Sens, who had been Prime Minister to LOUIS

* This man has more claims on the gratitude of the Directory than are generally known. He was Shoemaker extraordinary to the army of French Jacobins, at the commencement of the revolution; though whether he displayed the greatest zeal in covering the feet of his foreign friends, or in lining his own pockets,—the worthy Citizen Subscribers, on that memorable occasion, are best able to declare. The services which he had rendered to the cause were amply demonstrated on the State Trials. But, in addition to these public proofs of his spirit, he is a writer in a certain print, to the conductors of which the Governors of France are under the greatest obligations.

THE

THE SIXTEENTH, was only a private member; or who are apprized of a similar occurrence, after the revolution of September last, when Citizen SEVRAY, formerly coachman to the DUKE DE NIVERNROIS was appointed president of the very section at Paris in which his old master resided.

In the military department of the French Republic, a thousand instances might be cited to prove, that the very dregs of the populace have been raised to situations of trust and importance. LIEBEAU, who now holds the rank of Brigadier-General, was, before the revolution, a journeyman shoemaker; and that notorious villain, victor HUGUES, Governor General of the French Islands in the West Indies, was formerly a humble assistant to Citizen HANTS, the hangman at Brest, who, sad reverse of Fortune! is now reduced to be the humble assistant of his quondam servant, the assassin of Guadaloupe.

Instances of this nature might be easily multiplied beyond measure; but enough has been said to obviate the objection which I have anticipated. Another objection, indeed, may be grounded on the strange impropriety of appointing men to be
 Repub-

Republican Ministers who are interested in the support of the monarchy, and who, it may be said, are decidedly adverse to any change in our system of Government. But, I shall request those who may be disposed to advance such an objection, to advert to the recent conduct of the French in Holland, where persons of this description have been literally compelled to accept places under the new Government under pain of disfranchisement, confiscation, and exile.

From the observations which I have made on the ignorance of some of the parties concerned, in respect of the distinction allotted them by the Directory, must be specially excepted, those worthy patriots, now resident at Paris, whose names are included in the lists. Of this description are, Messieurs HAMILTON ROWAN, NAPPER TANDY, THOMAS PAINE, and THOMAS MUIR, who preside over the English, Scotch, and Irish Committees, now sitting at Paris, which have daily communications with the Directory. It was, probably, after the advice of these men that the lists were framed; the different revolutionary measures concerted; and the determination adopted

adopted never to make Peace with a British Monarch.

Among their other Quixotic schemes, exulting by anticipation in the conquest of these Islands, they have made a distribution of the British Navy;—after allotting to France, Holland, and Spain, a sufficient number of our ships to restore their respective fleets to the same footing on which they were before the war, they have generously divided the remainder among the three new Republics. The same kind of division has also been made of our East and West India possessions, securing for themselves such of those settlements as best suit their convenience.

Their lists of proscription, confiscation, and banishment, are already prepared. Under the head of *Grandes Mesures* are inscribed the names of the most illustrious personages in the kingdom, (with the exception only of two, who have near relatives on the Continent :) the fate reserved for whom, by Republican *justice*, may easily be conjectured.—Among those who are destined for *deportation*, are the principal nobility in the kingdom, and its most opulent inhabitants. Proprietors

prietors of manufactories, however, are excepted, on the mere condition of transferring their industry and their capital to France. This last list contains the names of MR. FOX, and the EARL OF MOIRA. As MR. FOX had been frequently panegyriized by some of the most distinguished patriots of the French Revolution, it was probably deemed necessary to assign a reason for the sentence pronounced on him, for opposite to his name is this memorandum:—" *Pour avoir insulté la nation Française dans ses discours en 1786; et comme ennemi inalterable de la nation Française**."

As

* "For having insulted the French nation in his speeches, in 1786," (alluding, I suppose, to the debates on the Commercial Treaty, when Mr. Fox certainly held the language of a true-born Englishman) "and as the unchangeable enemy of the French nation."—It is my intention merely to state facts, and not to attempt to reconcile any apparent contradictions in the language or conduct of the Rulers of France, to any particular person or persons. Yet I think, the praise and censure alternately bestowed on Mr. Fox, may be naturally accounted for. In the first fervour of the Revolutionary mania, when the subverters of Monarchy were doubtful of success, and justly expected to incur universal opposition, to secure the approbation of

As this circumstance does honour to Mr. Fox, and corroborates some of his own observations on the subject,

of a character eminently distinguished for the possession of superior talents, was an object of the first importance to them; and naturally obliterated, for a time, any unfavourable sentiments which they might previously have entertained of such individual. Indeed their minds were so occupied with the grand work which they had in hand, as necessarily to exclude them from all sentiments that were not immediately connected therewith. But when success, more complete and extensive than their warmest advocates could expect, had crowned their efforts, their former sentiments returned, and the national vanity, the predominating feature in every French mind, resumed its wonted sway; and those who had, at any period, inflicted a wound on that vanity, were, of course, selected as objects of punishment. — This it was that led the French army, which basely betrayed and subjugated the Swiss, to disperse those heaps of bones which signalized the victory of Swiss Republicans over French Royalists; and this it was, most probably, that led the rulers of France to pronounce a sentence of banishment on Mr. Fox, who had represented their revolution as “THE MOST STUPENDOUS AND GLORIOUS EDIFICE OF LIBERTY, WHICH HAD BEEN ERECTED ON THE FOUNDATION OF HUMAN INTEGRITY IN ANY TIME OR COUNTRY;” and stated them to have “ERECTED A GOVERNMENT FROM WHICH NEITHER INSULT NOR INJURY COULD BE DREADED BY HER NEIGHBOURS.”!!!

It

subject, made in the course of debate, candour required its publication. LORD MOIRA's name has also a memorandum annexed to it which reflects great honour on his lordship:—" *Pour avoir porté les armes contre deux peuples combattant pour leur liberté; et comme protecteur des émigrés.*"*

A list of proscription without its regular concomitant, a scale of contributions, would be such a departure from the established system of revolutionary politics as the virtuous Directory of France would blush to be guilty of. For the gratification, therefore, of those who anticipate the promised division of the spoils of the wealthy, the sums to be exacted from individuals in England, have been fixed. And the only discrimination which has, in this instance, been made between the opposers and the supporters of the war is, that the former

It is possible, however, that Mr. Fox's recent Coalition with the London Corresponding Society may have mitigated the rage of these vindictive Republicans, and induced them to reverse their sentence.

* "For having borne arms against two nations that were fighting for their liberties—and afforded protection to the Emigrants."

I

Are

are merely to be robbed, whereas the latter are to be robbed and banished. The Dukes of BEDFORD and NORFOLK* are rated as high as the Dukes of MARLBOROUGH and BRIDGWATER. Each is destined to pay, for the *first* contribution, the sum of *four hundred thousand guineas*.

The French Government have spared neither pains nor expence to obtain such information, with respect to this Country, as may enable them to prepare their plans, and to direct their efforts to the greatest advantage. But, as the contaminated channel of treason has been employed for this purpose, their intelligence may naturally be supposed to be more flattering than pure, more voluminous than correct. The British and Irish rebels at Paris have long maintained a constant correspondence with their respective countries, by the way of Berlin, Bremen, Hamburgh, and Altona; and it is from information communicated

* Whether the publick homage recently paid by his Grace of NORFOLK to the *Sovereignty of the People*, has produced any change in the sentiments of the Directory, and any consequent reduction of the stated quota, I have not the means of ascertaining.

through this medium, that the Directory have adopted the idea, that, in the event of a naval combat, the sailors on board several of our ships will seize their officers, and join the Republican standard; and that, as soon as they shall have effected a landing on British, or Irish ground, a great portion of the Militia will follow the example of the seamen. It could scarcely be supposed possible that any degree of credit could be given to a calumny so gross and detestable, on the brave men who serve in our Fleets and Armies, if we were not certain that the French Government have been chiefly indebted for their extensive conquests in other countries to the success of similar intrigues. It is this circumstance that has induced them to yield a ready belief to all the scandalous misrepresentations of those traitors who have fled from the gallows at home; and to embark in the most dangerous and desperate enterprizes.

The Directory have obtained lists of all the persons who subscribed to the Loyalty Loan; of all who have signed loyal or democratic addresses; of the members of the Loyal Associations; of the Whig Club; and of all the seditious meetings in

the kingdom. They have another list of what they are pleased to term *patriotic* Officers in the Army, the Militia, and the Navy—this list is very short; and opposite to most of the names is placed the word *douteux*—doubtful. It is said to have been furnished by a certain English Colonel, to whom I alluded in a note in my first Letter to Mr. Erskine, and who lately died on the Continent. They have likewise a list of most of the Men of Property in the Country, with an account of the nature and disposition of their property; as well as an estimate of the supposed wealth of the different publick Companies and Corporations. These lists have been procured, within these nine months, through the medium of the Committee of Traitors at Paris.

Such, Gentlemen, is the substance of the private information which I received from the Continent some time ago, accompanied by an intimation, that it was the resolution of the French Government to carry their designs upon this country into effect at the latter end of the present month. I publish it with a view to rouse the country to a just sense of her danger; to animate that publick spirit

spirit which must, when duly exerted, crush, at a stroke, the united efforts of Foreign Enmity and Domestick Treason; and to stimulate you to a renewal of those truly patriotic labours, which, at a most alarming crisis, though less so than the present, once rescued the Kingdom from the incalculable evils of Impending Anarchy.

All the public declarations of the French Government irrefragably demonstrate their implacable enmity to the people of this country, and their determination to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to destroy our Constitution, to desolate our land, and to erase us from the list of Independent States. Whether the information they have received be true or false, they have resolved to act upon it.*—"The hatred of the English
"Govern-

* The impending trials at Maidstone prevent me from employing one material argument, which bears immediately upon this point. But I here warn the conductors of a low Jacobin print, *which I know to be in the pay of the French*, and proofs of which *they* (at least *one* of them) must know to exist, sufficient to convince every rational mind, though not perhaps to convict them on a charge of High Treason, in a
Court

" Government must be *national*. A WAR OF EX-
 " TERMINATION shall soon be commenced
 " AGAINST A PEOPLE who have become an
 " object of execration to all the Nations of the
 " Earth. In order to accelerate that moment,
 " let every Speaker conclude his speech with the
 " words of Cato—'*Delenda est Carthago*,' and let
 " the President terminate each sitting with these
 " expressions:—'*Vengeance against the English*
 " *Government, the Oppressor of all Nations.*' *

To render these threats abortive, vigour and
 unanimity at home are indispensably requisite;—
 the first, we are sure, will be displayed; the last,
 in the strict acceptation of the word, we are, un-
 fortunately, forbidden to expect. But while our

Court of Law;—that if they continue to use the indecent
 language which they have employed, since the apprehension of
 their accomplices; and to calumniate the men of Kent, by
 boasting that " they are sure of the Juries," I will no longer
 suffer motives of delicacy to deter me from the use of such
 weapons as I am furnished with, whatever may be their
 tendency or effect. It is high time that the *Friends* of the Con-
 stitution should display as much Energy and Spirit as its *Enemies*.

* Speech of GAUSAN, in the Council of Five Hundred, on
 the 4th of March, 1798.

force

forces are employed in repelling foreign invasion, it behoves the Members of the Loyal Associations to assemble, in order to strengthen the hands of Government, and to keep a vigilant eye on the motions of domestic traitors. The events which have occurred, since the preceding pages were penned, give strong confirmation to the intelligence which they convey. I have long known that the Seditious Societies were busily employed in disseminating their abominable principles, and almost every tract that I have published, on political affairs, has contained serious admonitions to the public, to be on their guard against their treacherous designs. Be it your task to confirm the wavering, to convert the weak, and to undeceive the deluded. Wholly unconnected with Ministers, you form an independent Phalanx, highly serviceable to your country, and terrible to none but her foes. All the dangers which first induced you to meet, now exist in an increased degree; the disaffected, perhaps, are less formidable in their numbers, but more shameless in their language, and equally desperate in their designs.

“ Not such the men who bent the stubborn bow,
And learnt in rugged sports to dare a foe,

No.

Not such the men who fill'd with heaps of slain
 Fam'd AGINCOURT and CRESSY's bloody plain;
 Haughty BRITANNIA then, inur'd to toil,
 Spread far and near the terrors of her Ile;
 True to herself and to the public weal,
 No GALLIC GOLD could blunt the BRITISH STEEL.*

You have, already, verified your former professions, and realized the expectations of your country, by standing forward with your purses and your swords. It now becomes you, (such of you, at least, as are not immediately employed in military service) to assemble without delay, in order to adopt such farther means as may be found expedient for stemming the current of disaffection, and watching, with pure British zeal, the sacred deposit of those laws, and of that Constitution, which are exposed to danger, and threatened with destruction.

* Lord Lansdowne—not the Marquis of Lansdowne.

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE

FIFTH EDITION.

-O I have been induced to add a short Postscript, to this new edition of my Address to the Loyal Associators, by the intelligence which I have just received, that the Earl of LAUDERDALE has openly declared his intention of commencing a prosecution, on account of some Libel on his Lordship, contained, as he conceives, in the preceding pages. This information has, I confess, created a considerable degree of surprize in my mind; for after perusing and re-perusing the Tract, again and again, I cannot discover a single passage or expression which can, by malice itself, be construed into an attack upon the character of his Lordship. That no such attack was intended by me is most certain. If his Lordship imagines that he is the person meant—for there is no title, no designation whatever, to fix the meaning—for one of the intended Directors of the imaginary Republic of Scotland; still, how any man can suppose that the smallest stigma can

can attach to him, on that account, I cannot possibly devine. So far was I from harbouring any such supposition, that I protest, if the names of any members of the present administration, if the names of any of my dearest friends, or if even my own name, had been selected by the regicidal Tyrants of France, to figure in the lists of the Republican Administrations, which they had amused themselves with framing, I should have published it, in the same manner; for my sole object, in the communication of the lists, as I have before most explicitly and truly stated, was to shew the real nature and extent of the enemy's designs upon this country, and to rouse the nation at once to a just sense of its danger, and to the employment of those means which are requisite to avert or repel it. On that head, indeed, the information which I had received would have enabled me considerably to enlarge.—I might have noticed the division of the country, by the Gallic Directory, into *Departments*, and have even specified the *names* assigned to some of them, but it appeared to me that I had said sufficient to answer the purpose which I proposed to myself.—I thought I had, at the same time, disclaimed, in terms as plain and positive as our language would supply, all idea of imputing to the persons inscribed

inscribed in the lists, the smallest knowledge of the honour intended them by the French Directory.— I stated that some were included who were evidently interested in the preservation of the existing constitution, and, consequently, adverse to a change; and I represented the impressions which had been artfully made on the minds of the French, by the wicked misrepresentations of their Tyrants, in respect of the countenance which they might expect to receive, from persons of a certain description in this country, to be *false*, though dangerous. In what, then, the supposed Libel consists, I must leave it to wiser heads than mine to discover. If, nevertheless, his Lordship feels himself aggrieved, I cannot but applaud his determination of appealing for redress to those Laws, which I have ever been strenuous to support and defend, and which, as I admire and revere them, I shall certainly never, knowingly, violate or transgress.

Lord LAUDERDALE ought, I should think, to know, by experience, that when I deem it necessary to attack the publick conduct of any individual, whatever his rank or station, I do it not by insinuation, but in a direct manner; not insidiously, but openly. This example of manly boldness was first set me by his Lordship; and I shall
certainly

certainly continue to follow it, so long as I exercise my pen on political subjects. His own admonition to use "strong language," because the *Times* demand it, has not been lost upon me as his Lordship well knows. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*; when I subscribe to the justice of an observation, I am eager to prove by my conduct, the sincerity of my acknowledgement; but with all my boldness, I durst not, were I so disposed, follow his Lordship, in *all* his political flights, revile the makers of our laws, and stigmatize the constitutional representatives of the people, as "THE DEVOTED MAJORITY OF THE MINISTER!"* I shall pursue this subject no farther at present, but revive it in a future publication, in which his Lordship will find my attacks as open and direct as they have hitherto, invariably, been. As, on the one hand, no excess of patriotick zeal shall stimulate, no ardour of political animosity betray me into a wilful transgression of the laws; so, on the other, no threats shall deter, no litigation divert me from the steady discharge of my public duty.

* A Letter on the present Measures of Finance, by the Earl of Lauderdale, page 4.

May 1st, 1798.

F I N I S.

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